WHITE BOOK

PAKISTAN'S SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION

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Introduction

Throughout their entire history the Afghan people have more than once had to take up arms to uphold their right to independence and the future of their choice. They won this right through persistent struggle, in which thousands of men and women gave their lives, rather than out of anybody's good grace. The heroic fight of the Afghan people against British colonialism, which had made numerous attempts, including the launching of three aggressive wars, to deprive our homeland, freedom-loving Afghanistan, of state sovereignty, is well known to the whole civilized world.

It is not so well known, however, that by the middle of the present century new, even more dangerous enemies of Afghanistan's independence, which had been won in hard trials, had emerged. For a long time they masked their real aims by pretending to be concerned about peace, stability in the region, the interests of the country's development, and so on. However, when in the course of the April Revolution of 1978 our people gained for the first time the opportunity to make their own choice of the roads of historical progress, the masks were thrown off, and US imperialism and the ruling circles of Pakistan, Iran and some other states revealed their openly aggressive, hegemonistic and anti-democratic aspirations, which have nothing in common with the interests of Afghanistan as an independent, sovereign, non-aligned and democratic state. Now, at this critical stage in Afghanistan's history, the real nature of the large-scale conspiracy prepared by the United States and its allies against the Afghan people over the last few decades and their plans to deprive Afghanistan of its independence and turn it into an instrument of neo-

colonialist policy have become evident. The official documents some time ago published by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have cited irrefutable evidence of the USA's leading role in preparing this conspiracy. The current developments also graphically demonstrate the Pakistani ruling circles' extensive participation over a long period of time in anti-Afghan activities. These circles have turned their country into a trump card in a global game played by the imperialist forces, where the future of many nations is at stake. In the context of past events, it becomes clear what prompted Pakistan's present unseemly role in the region.

The Pakistani ruling circles' hostile attitude to the Afghan state goes back a long time. Facts show that since 1947, i.e. when the state of Pakistan came into being on the ruins of the British Empire, the Pakistani ruling circles have consistently followed and continue to follow with growing persistence an anti-Afghan policy inherited from the British colonizers. Like their predecessors, Pakistani rulers have always opposed the strengthening of Afghanistan's independence and its free development, ignored the legitimate interests of the Afghan people and made numerous attempts to destabilize the internal political situation in this country. Pakistan's anti-democratic domestic and foreign policies, which have become established in recent years, have logically led the country to enter into an alliance with US imperialism, the despotic Shah regime in Iran, reactionary Arab regimes and, later on, with Chinese hegemonism. Back in the mid-1950s the Pakistani militarist circles had drawn their country into the SENTO and SEATO military-political blocs. By signing a bilateral agreement with the USA in 1959, they opened their country's doors to US monopolies. Throughout the 1950s there were substantial deliveries of American arms to Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan grew increasingly aggressive, posing a threat to peace in the Middle East and South Asia and arousing legitimate anxiety in Afghanistan and other states in the region. Such a policy on the part of the Pakistani leadership was the biggest obstacle which prevented the development of normal relations between our countries and the settlement of unresolved problems left over by British colonialism.

In the 1950s the main objective of US imperialism and its allies in the region, Pakistan and Iran, was to force Afghanistan to abandon the path of non-alignment, positive neutrality and non-participation in military blocs and bind it to US foreign policy which was directed against socialist countries, national liberation movements and progressive democratic forces. Every means available was used to realize these far-reaching designs. Taking advantage of the fact that Afghanistan has no sea outlet and has to transport its export and import goods through the territory of adjacent states, the Pakistani government has on many occasions disrupted the delivery of Afghan goods. In order to exert pressure on Afghanistan, it has provoked disturbances in border regions, carried out malicious anti-Afghan propaganda, and oppressed Pushtus in Pakistan, offending the national feelings of the Afghan people. For its part, Iran has laid unfounded claims to Afghanistan concerning the distribution of the waters of the Helmand border river, giving rise to many explosive situations.

The 1960s were marked by the intensification of efforts to exert pressure on Afghanistan, with economic methods being extensively employed alongside the political ones. Large-scale ideological sabotage was also conducted, and attempts were made to distort the country's historical past and belittle the role of Afghan culture. At the same time, the United States and its satellites continued their efforts to draw Afghanistan into aggressive military-political alliances, or so-called "regional cooperation for the sake of development". The anti-Afghan orientation of Pakistan's policy was subject to severe criticism by the broad public in our country, including the patriotically-minded intelligentsia, national business circles and army officers. With the backing of Islamabad and conservative Muslim organizations in Pakistan, several extremely reactionary political groupings emerged in our society in the late sixties and early seventies, which were later to form the nucleus of the counter-revolution.

It is well known to everybody that after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1973 Pakistani special services took part in the preparation and organization of several anti-state plots in Afghanistan, with the intention of eliminating the democratic gains of the people, weakening the pro-

gressive forces and establishing a regime which would be to their liking. It was during this period and not after the April Revolution, as some people assume, that asylum was given on Pakistani territory to the criminal Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his accomplices, who, with the help from the CIA and the local authorities, set up the first centres of the Afghan counter-revolution there.

During the period immediately preceding the Revolution, taking advantage of Afghanistan's backwardness and difficulties, the United States and its allies, Pakistan and Iran, began to resort more and more often to economic pressure on the country. The "aid" extended to Afghanistan by Pakistan and Iran was gradually becoming imperialism's Trojan horse and an essential part of the broader plan of making Afghanistan submit politically and ideologically to the West's strategic aims. A significant role was assigned to the Shah's Iran, whose military and political ties with Pakistan were steadily growing. As well as increasing economic aid to Afghanistan to some extent, the United States and its allies in the region stepped up its ideological penetration into Afghanistan, extensively using their embassies in Kabul for the purpose. Their anti-Afghan activities were accompanied by regular noisy campaigns around the alleged "Soviet threat".

Inasmuch as the use of the myth about the "Soviet threat" has been and remains an important weapon in the West's propaganda arsenal, it deserves special consideration.

Of course, states cannot choose their neighbours. Along with the social system, culture, traditions and other features, geopolitical factors have an important role to play in a country's history. History shows that Afghanistan's neighbours in the south, south-east and west, Pakistan and Iran, have for many decades shown a hostile attitude towards our state. Their ruling circles have been guided in their anti-Afghan policy by narrow selfish, egoistic interests and, directly or indirectly, promoted the global strategic aims of the United States, which is situated thousands of miles away from the region.

On the other hand, Afghanistan has developed favourable relations with its northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, with which it shares a border nearly 2,500 kilometres long. Unlike Iran and Pakistan, the northern neighbour has invariably been interested in the existence of a united and independent Afghanistan, capable of defending its sovereignty. The sixty-odd years of Afghan-Soviet relations are evidence of this.

Friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan began to develop at a critical time in our history, when a new generation of Afghans rose to take part in the fierce struggle for their country's independence and the fight against British colonialism. Afghanistan signed its first equitable treaty with a great power in 1921. It was a treaty with the country's northern neighbour, which ever since then has played an extensive and disinterested part in Afghanistan's development on a mutually beneficial basis and lent it considerable economic support and aid in training specialists. In the same period the Afghan people extended substantial aid in the form of food supplies to the famine-stricken population in the central regions of Soviet Russia. In the early 1940s, thanks to the joint efforts of the Afghan and Soviet governments, plans to involve our country in the Second World War on the side of Nazi Germany were frustrated. The 1950s were marked by the beginning of extensive and versatile Afghan-Soviet economic cooperation. It should be stressed that it was in the 1950s rather than after the April Revolution, as is believed by some people, that the Soviet Union, acting at the Afghan government's request, started assisting Afghanistan in strengthening its defence capability. Such assistance was necessary because of new and vigorous attempts to undermine the national sovereignty of our state on the part of the United States and its allies in military-political blocs. Equal bilateral relations also formed the objective basis for developing cooperation in the international arena. The USSR has invariably regarded the independent policy pursued by Afghanistan as a non-aligned state with respect and understanding. From what has been said above, it is logical to conclude that the myth about the "Soviet threat" to Afghanistan has a definite propaganda objective. Reactionary circles in the United States, Pakistan, Iran and other states hostile to Afghanistan use this myth to make the Afghan people believe that the Soviet Union has ulterior motives with respect to Afghanistan. Should they succeed, our country

would not be able to rely on the support of its natural and traditional ally, while the real enemies would be free to implement their far-reaching plans. The internal reactionary elements, which have long since established close links with US imperialism, have taken up the "Soviet threat" myth and, playing on the Afghans' religious feeling, have alleged and continue to allege that "infidels" have invaded Afghanistan. Obviously, this is the same policy of intimidating the Afghan people with the "Soviet threat" and its aims are the same. The above assessment of the anti-Afghan policy of the United States and its allies has been convincingly confirmed by the entire course of development of our society, which embarked on the path of social regeneration and progress in 1978.

Afghanistan was one of the world's most backward countries when the revolution broke out. It was a country with a population that was almost totally illiterate, most of the people suffering from abject poverty, lack of democratic traditions and institutions, despotism of the ruling circles, ruthless exploitation of the people by landowners and usurers, corrupt and tyrannical government bureaucracy, national and religious discrimination against national minorities, and a lack of legal outlets for expressing social protest.

Important political and socio-economic measures were carried out during the initial stage of the Revolution: the peasants' indebtedness to landowners and usurers was cancelled; an agrarian reform in the interests of peasants who had little or no land was launched; trade unions and other democratic organizations were set up; legislation was adopted proclaiming equality for all nationalities and tribes, and equality for women; steps were taken to develop education, health protection and culture; and a reading-and-writing campaign began. In foreign policy it was confirmed that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would retain its status as a non-aligned state guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence in its relations with other states.

Since Afghanistan was a backward and multinational country, it was only natural to expect that the revolutionary, national-democratic forces headed by the People's Democratic Party would encounter considerable

difficulties in implementing their programme of democratic reforms. Extremists of all types—from ultra-left to ultra-right—opposed the democratization of social life and social and economic reforms. They unleashed a campaign of terror accompanied by false propaganda against the democratic forces. A counter-revolution was being plotted by representatives of the deposed feudal and landowner circles, the military-bureaucratic authorities, reactionary elements among the clergy and even criminals. The anti-democratic struggle was joined by Maoist and other extremist groups. Unfortunately, there were also extremist elements within the revolutionary forces themselves that attempted to dictate their will to the Party. But the truth is that the birth of something new always encounters obstacles, and the old never gives way to the new without a struggle. On the other hand, it should be noted that the forces opposing the democratic reforms were rather thin on the ground and could not count on the support of the popular masses. As they lacked support at home, they turned to forces outside the country with whom they had already maintained links for some time: US imperialists, the Pakistani military, Iranian religious and political leaders and the reactionary governments of some Arab countries. It must be emphasized once again that it was not the heavy burden of domestic social problems the revolutionary-democratic government inherited from previous regimes, nor the mistakes the Afghan government made at the beginning of the Revolution that gave rise to the difficult situation which had developed in Afghanistan and around it. The main cause of the difficulties which the Afghan people had come up against lay in the strategic objectives of the external forces hostile to the national interests of Afghanistan and the internal forces of reaction, in the fact that they had formed a shameful alliance and unleashed an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The military dictatorship of Zia ul-Haq which has turned Pakistani territory into a virtual bridgehead of aggression, plays a leading role among the counter-revolutionary forces of every stripe fighting against Afghanistan. In addition to the centres of Afghan reaction set up in Pakistan even before the April Revolution, Afghan emigré missions and headquarters have been established

and are now openly operating there along with more than 100 centres for training subversive elements and terrorists recruited from among the Afghans who left their homeland for one reason or another. After having undergone training they are sent into sovereign Afghanistan. Pakistan's top military brass are taking an active part in organizing anti-Afghan activities. Pakistani army officers are playing an increasingly important role among the counter-revolutionary groups. Subversive and terrorist groups of Afghans join up with the regular Pakistani army during exercises, are supplied with ammunition from army warehouses and then sent into Afghanistan under the supervision and with the direct participation of the Pakistani borderguards. The Afghan counter-revolutionaries enjoy the active cooperation of the special services of Pakistan and other countries which use them for gathering intelligence. The Pakistani regime has of late been going over from waging an undeclared war to taking direct military action against Afghanistan in frontier areas, shelling inhabited areas there and shooting at Afghan aircraft. Pakistan's air force systematically violates Afghan air space. The reactionary Zia ul-Haq regime encourages Pakistani officers to take a direct part in military operations conducted by Afghan counter-revolutionary gangs on Afghan territory.

The lot of the Afghans who are now in other countries, including Pakistan, is a matter of special concern to the Afghan government. Some of them were deceived by hostile propaganda, others left their country to earn some money even before the Revolution, still others are nomads traditionally migrating from Afghanistan to Pakistan and back. But the Pakistani authorities include all these people in the category of "refugees". Zia ul-Haq's regime and the ringleaders of emigré counter-revolutionary organizations cynically exploit the Afghans staying in Pakistan in the armed struggle against their own country. Money provided by foreign taxpayers intended to help the so-called Afghan refugees is shamelessly used for completely different, inhuman purposes—to organize the armed struggle against the Afghan people. Much of this money is simply stolen by Pakistani officials and counter-revolutionary leaders. The government of Afghanistan, meanwhile, guarantees complete freedom and immunity upon return home

to the Afghans who are temporarily residing for one or another reason in Pakistan or other neighbouring countries.

Various subversive plans with regard to Afghanistan are discussed during visits to Pakistan by high-ranking officials from the United States, other NATO countries, and China.

In this way, the reactionary foreign policy currently being pursued by the Pakistani ruling circles has resulted in Pakistan's becoming an outpost of imperialism and reaction in the region of the Middle East and South Asia and a centre of militarism and aggression against sovereign countries. The Pakistani military assumes the function of gendarme of US imperialism, which poses danger to the national interests of Pakistan itself. That Islamabad is not performing this role for altruistic purposes is obvious: the Reagan Administration pays generously for the part Zia ul-Haq's regime is playing in the undeclared war against Afghanistan and in suppressing progressive and democratic forces in Pakistan itself.

The Pakistani regime's harsh anti-Afghan policy and its dependent position in the coalition of the forces working against Afghanistan also explain its unwillingness to reach comprehensive political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan at the indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. With the skill of a card-sharper, the causes and effects of the situation which had developed in Afghanistan and which forced it to turn for help to its northern neighbour are interchanged. It is well known that the Soviet Union acted in the spirit of the traditional Afghan-Soviet relations of goodneighbourliness and cooperation and fulfilled its commitments under the agreement of 1978 at a difficult time for the people of Afghanistan when their state sovereignty and independence were being threatened. It is perfectly obvious that the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is strictly a question of bilateral Afghan-Soviet relations. The reasons which compelled Afghanistan to ask the USSR to send the contingent in question would disappear if the armed incursions and all other forms of interference in Afghan internal affairs are stopped and guarantees given that they will not be resumed. But judging by Washington's and Islamabad's present stance on a political

settlement of the situation which has arisen around Afghanistan, they value the war against Afghanistan more than peace in South-West Asia. As for Islamabad itself, the facts show that in the anti-Afghan alliance it holds an extreme right position, a position, it might be said, which defies common sense. This is confirmed by the material to be found in this book.

Pakistan: A Nest of Counter-Revolution

The flames of the explosion which went off on the morning of August 31, 1984, in Kabul international airport highlighted, as it were, for the Afghan people and world public opinion the shameful role played by Pakistan's military regime in the undeclared war unleashed by imperialist forces against Afghanistan. As a result of this bloody act of terrorism perpetrated by hired bandits, 13 people were killed and 207 wounded. The bandits had brought weapons bearing US and China's trade marks from Pakistan. They were trained in the "art to kill" by US and other foreign instructors on Pakistani territory. They were paid 4,000 dollars by CIA agents in Pakistan for murdering civilians.

The explosion in Kabul that day was only one of thousands of crimes perpetrated in our long-suffering land by bandits who had been trained and provided with all the essentials in Pakistan.

From the very first days after the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan world imperialists headed by the United States had turned Pakistan into a bridgehead for aggression against our republic, a centre for training counter-revolutionary rabble. As each year goes by Zia ul-Haq's military regime has been stepping up its subversive activities against Afghanistan. It is an active participant in, and perpetrator of, the anti-Afghan policies of the United States, other Western countries, Muslim reactionaries and China.

These subversive policies basically take the following forms:

— comprehensive support for the counter-revolutionary Afghan organizations and the involvement of

Afghan refugees in the counter-revolutionary movement;

— military training of rebel groups and the provision of them with weapons, ammunition, foodstuffs and other supplies coming from abroad;

— anti-Afghan propaganda;

— direct participation in armed provocations against Afghanistan.

Every aspect of these unsavoury activities, which expose Pakistan's military regime, should be considered by relying on facts.

In January 1984, an event took place which would not have merited attention had it not been so characteristic of Islamabad's attitude to the Afghan rebels who have built a nest on Pakistani territory: General Zia ul-Haq ordered that diplomatic passports be issued to the leaders of the so-called "Afghan resistance".

Resistance to what?

To progressive reforms which are being carried out in Afghanistan in the course of the national-democratic revolution.

To the implementation of the law on land reform thanks to which the poorest peasants, those who are landless or who have hardly any land, receive plots that enable them to feed their families.

To the opportunities offered to the people representing all sections of Afghan society for learning to read and write and gaining access to culture.

To the equal opportunities offered to the previously oppressed classes of Afghan society and representatives of the different nationalities inhabiting our ancient land for social advancement with those who had exploited them for centuries.

Diplomatic passports which guarantee immunity were accepted from Pakistan's military dictator by the leaders of those who perpetrate plunder and violence on Afghan territory, the very same leaders of those who burn down schools, murder teachers and cut off schoolchildren's arms, who murder mullahs merely for preaching peace and tranquility in their native land in accordance with the Koran and calling on their compatriots to be loyal citizens of their fatherland, and who destroy houses and rob their fellow citizens.

Where passports are concerned, the Islamabad regime supplies Afghan counter-revolutionaries not only with diplomatic but also with forged passports which are provided in unlimited quantities to those who have been specially trained in Pakistan for subversive activities on the territory of Afghanistan.

About 50 Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations have built their nests in Pakistan. The largest of them have united into two alliances.

One of them, the Islamic Union of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan, the so-called Union of the Seven, was formed in September 1981 to unite counter-revolutionary organizations whose goal is to establish a so-called Islamic Republic in Afghanistan. It includes the Islamic Party of Afghanistan headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, the Islamic Party of Afghan Fighters for the Faith with Yunus Khalis as leader, and four other smaller counter-revolutionary groupings.

The second "alliance" formed in December 1981 united three organizations and a number of small pro-monarchist groups. It is called the Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan, or the Union of the Three. Its objective is to establish the government of big feudal lords in Afghanistan and restore the monarchy.

In Pakistan, where the activities of local political parties and public organizations are banned, Afghan counter-revolutionaries feel free and act openly. The Pakistani authorities do not prevent the Afghan counter-revolutionary "alliances" from preparing acts of subversion against Afghanistan, a sovereign state, in the Pakistani capital. There are 4,000 Afghan emigrés in Islamabad. Secret apartments in 36th, 37th, 38th streets and 7th Avenue (District F-6/1), 48th Street (District F-8/4), 35th Street (District F-7/1) and 57th Street (District G-9/4) are used for meetings, conferences and contacts with foreigners.

Peshawar, the administrative centre of the North-West Frontier Province, has become a veritable hornets' nest of the Afghan counter-revolution. The city and the surrounding area are the very place where the headquarters of the Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations and groupings and their secret apartments are concentrated. Under the

wing of the Pakistani authorities, who provide them with cover and give them active support, the leaders of the Afghan bandits carry out their dirty work unhindered.

The Islamabad regime, however, does not only support the Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations but coordinates their subversive activities against a state with which it maintains diplomatic relations. For example, on May 12, 1984, Zia ul-Haq held a conference in Islamabad to discuss the questions of stepping up and better coordinating subversive activities against Afghanistan. Taking part in the conference were the Minister for Foreign Affairs Sahibzada Yakub Khan, representatives of the command of the land forces and governors of the provinces which share a border with Afghanistan.

The Zia ul-Haq regime is exerting more and more pressure on the Afghan refugees in Pakistan in order to force as many of them as possible to take part in the counter-revolutionary movement. Attempts are being made to convince our compatriots in Pakistan that the only way for honest Muslims must be that of fighting against the people's government in Afghanistan in the name of the "independence" of Afghanistan and "defending" the entire Muslim world. Leaflets and posters with calls to join the "ranks of the resistance" are constantly put up in the refugee areas. At the same time, together with the Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations, the Pakistani authorities are taking steps to prevent the refugees from returning home. There are instances when the Pakistani border-guards stop refugee groups returning to Afghanistan and send them back to their camps. In December 1983 and January 1984 some of those who wanted to return to Afghanistan were murdered.

The Pakistani secret services have established a network of informers in the refugee camps to discover those Afghans who intend to go back to their homeland. They are then separated from the other refugees and the more active of them are eliminated.

It seems to be something of a paradox at first glance. On the one hand, the Islamabad regime sheds tears of sympathy because of the hard lot of the Afghans who have found themselves outside their country and, on the other hand, creates obstacles for those who genuinely want to return home. It constantly complains of the difficulties

caused by the presence in Pakistan of over two million Afghan refugees but refuses to hold talks with the Afghan government on this problem. In addition, it stokes up the fire of the undeclared war it helped to unleash, which is the real reason why there is now a problem with Afghan refugees.

But this is only seeming paradox. In fact, the Zia ul-Haq regime is interested in maintaining the present situation since it can appropriate most of the money allocated to Pakistan for the upkeep of the refugees. Being a bridgehead of the undeclared war against a neighbouring country and the base for imperialist aggression against a sovereign non-aligned state, Pakistan receives from its donors—the United States and some other Western countries, China and reactionary Arab regimes—generous aid without which the very existence of a military dictatorship in the country would hardly have been possible.

Pakistan's leadership has recently stepped up its propaganda campaign around the events in Afghanistan, trying to impart an international flavour to the "Afghan question" and ensure diplomatic support for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. It is typical that, as always, Zia ul-Haq himself sets the tone in the anti-Afghan campaign. In his opening speech on September 17, 1984, at the international seminar "Islam in the Struggle for Peace" attended by delegates from most of the Islamic states, the Pakistani President completely distorted the events in Afghanistan. Zia ul-Haq described the situation there as a "threat to all the Muslim countries" and alleged that the Afghan rebels were fighting to defend the entire Muslim world.

There are also many other facts which testify to the Pakistani military administration's intention to secure support from other states for murderers and robbers. Let us consider these facts.

An international Islamic conference which the leaders of the Afghan counter-revolution had been invited to attend was held in Islamabad in the period from December 10 to 13, 1983. One of its sessions was chaired by the notorious Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. The Pakistani delegation headed by Zia ul-Haq held official "consultations" with the leaders of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

At the session of the Organization of Islamic

Conference on January 19, 1984, Zia ul-Haq openly called for military aid to be provided for the Dushmans and tried to make other states agree to this. He was strongly opposed to a proposal from the organization's progressive wing to reinstate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a member. The leaders of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, who had been invited to attend the session at the initiative of the Pakistani President, were given an opportunity to speak.

On July 5, 1984, Zia ul-Haq had a meeting with US, Chinese, Egyptian and Saudi Arabian representatives to discuss the stepping up of the propaganda activity against our country. It was decided, in particular, to send special propaganda groups to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In accordance with this decision, about 500 mullahs, supporters of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, including 20 Pakistani citizens, were sent from Pakistan to the Nazian District on July 18.

In an attempt to consolidate the international position of the Afghan counter-revolution and enhance the prestige of its organizations, the Islamabad regime is acting as a go-between in the establishment of contacts with representatives of Western states. Here is a brief list of steps taken by Pakistani officials in 1983 alone:

— representatives of the military administration met the West German ambassador to Pakistan as medical equipment was being handed over to representatives of the Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations;

— contacts were being constantly maintained with representatives of the US secret services who are in Pakistan posing as employees of cultural institutions allegedly studying the needs of Afghan refugees;

— meetings were arranged with French Embassy officials who recruit doctors and specialists in radio communications for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries;

— Pakistan's military administration supported the idea of establishing an international monetary fund for aid to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Its representative A. Husein made an announcement to this effect on November 24, 1983, at a "conference on Afghanistan" held in Monterey (California, USA) on the initiative of the California Institute of International Studies.

Questions on improving the efficiency of the counter-

revolutionary movement were discussed, and the requests of counter-revolutionary groupings and proposals for more aid were studied in the course of these talks and meetings.

In order to impart an international flavour to the so-called "Afghan problem" the Pakistani leadership invariably includes an exchange of opinions on the subject in the programme of visits of foreign delegations and makes arrangements for foreign politicians to see Afghan refugee camps. The end result is nearly always the same: sympathy with the struggle of the Afghan "guerrillas" is declared and Pakistan's position with regard to the "Afghan problem" is approved. In addition resolutions adopted by the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of Islamic Conference are manipulated.

The Islamabad regime is making great efforts to discredit Afghanistan's peace-loving policies in the eyes of world public opinion. It sees this as a means of whitewashing the activities of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, attracting attention to the alleged threat which Afghanistan poses to Pakistan and, as a result, securing a greater amount of political, military and economic support from the United States, China, their allies and reactionary Muslim regimes for itself and the Afghan counter-revolutionary forces. The Pakistani authorities fabricate "reports" on the bombing of Pakistani territory and Afghan refugee camps, in particular, by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan's Air Force. This is usually done during international forums or on the eve of Western leaders' visits to Pakistan. For example, "reports" on bomb attacks on populated areas in Kurram and South Waziristan were timed to coincide with the opening of the 39th UN General Assembly Session and the visit to Islamabad of West German Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl.

Pakistan's subversive activities against Afghanistan, one of essential aspects of which is the political and diplomatic support for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, are constantly expanding. This is acknowledged by the leaders of the Islamabad military regime themselves. For example, in early July 1984 Pakistan's Minister for Foreign Affairs Sahibzada Yakub Khan, after visiting the United States, France, Belgium and other European countries, said addressing the leading officials of the country's Foreign Ministry that the Pakistani leadership would further take

steps to provide conditions for establishing anti-Afghan groupings and step up subversive activities against our country.

The leaders of Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations do not hide their criminal ties with the Pakistani authorities, either. For instance, the newspaper of the Islamic Union of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan, *Afghan Jihad*, published on March 21, 1982, the text of a letter from the Supreme Council of the organization to Zia ul-Haq full of thanks for the military regime's all-round cooperation with the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. On Zia ul-Haq's personal instructions, Pakistani representatives recently contacted leaders of anti-Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations with a view to coordinating Pakistan's position at the next round of talks with Afghanistan through an envoy of the UN Secretary-General in spring 1985 in Geneva.

The facts given above irrefutably prove that Pakistan renders direct political support to and provides diplomatic cover for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries who have built a nest on its territory. Islamabad's principal role in the undeclared war against Afghanistan, however, is to serve as a base of aggression against a sovereign state, i.e. to take part in the military training of rebel groups, to supply them with weapons, ammunition, foodstuffs and equipment, in a word, with the combustible material which feeds the flames of the counter-revolution.

Standing Behind the Dushmans' Back

In the undeclared war which the imperialists and reactionaries are waging against the Afghan people the bands of Dushmans who are sent to our territory from Pakistan are assigned the role of the main striking force. Avoiding direct clashes with the army, they direct their vicious blows at the civilian population in order to sow fear, disrupt the economy and prevent the new life from gaining a foothold. The murder of government employees, teachers, mullahs and peasants, and bomb attacks on cinema theatres, airports and other public places are the terroristic methods which are preferred by those who direct the bandits' activities.

Standing behind the back of the Dushman bands, who are hypocritically called "freedom fighters" by bourgeois propaganda, are the US imperialists, the bitterest enemies of genuine national freedom and irreconcilable opponents of social progress. Washington is the centre from which the war against the Afghan people and against the ideals of the April Revolution which has awaken our ancient land is directed. In fact, the politicians in Washington themselves make no secret of it. Their safes have been flung wide open for financing this war under the false pretext of "aid to Afghan refugees". Such figures as 85, 125 and even 300 million dollars a year are mentioned, although this is obviously not the limit. According to *The Washington Post*, the exact figures are "kept secret". There is no doubt that the actual sums are much higher. And, as they say, he who pays the piper, calls the tune. As recently as May 1984, US Vice-President George Bush, in a speech at one of the camps of Dushmans near Peshawar, unambiguously demanded that "resistance be continued".

But Washington also needs bridgeheads, mercenaries and hirelings if it is to continue and expand armed intervention in the Afghan affairs. It indulges in similar behaviour in the Middle East, Central America and other regions. As to the USA's undeclared war against our republic, all the conditions required for waging it are provided by Pakistan, the US imperialists' strategic ally in the region.

Are the Hands Kept Clean?

One does not need to look very far to find the motives which impelled Zia ul-Haq's administration to embark on this dishonourable road. The financial, economic, military and political dependence on the United States; the hopes for receiving extensive military and economic aid from the USA in return for its anti-Afghan policy; the hegemonistic ambitions in the region which Islamabad plans to carry out with Washington's backing; and, finally, the hatred which Pakistan's reactionaries have for the Afghan Revolution, hatred which is directly proportional to the domestic difficulties experienced by the Zia ul-Haq regime. All these factors have played their part.

At any rate, Islamabad has assumed, mildly speaking, the unseemly role of the chief executor of the "senior partner's" dangerous scheme, although it has requested that this role not be made public. Washington has agreed to this request. "We're going to keep Zia's hands clean," said CIA Director William Casey at the initial stage of the undeclared war. In citing this statement from the head of the US "department of dirty tricks" in its issue of June 11, 1984 the *Time* magazine could not resist comparing it with another event which was not very extensively covered in the world press: in May 1984 "...the House of Representatives passed a bill that would make Pakistan one of five countries where more than six military advisers may be stationed". Consequently, the anti-Afghan aggression perpetrated from Pakistani territory with the direct participation of the Pakistani government has been given

official sanction in Washington. But it has failed to keep the Zia ul-Haq regime's hands "clean" and has recently given up worrying about it.

Recruits, Not Refugees

Indeed, is it possible to hide the fact that the Pakistani authorities have not simply given "shelter" to the so-called Afghan refugees but intend to turn just about every able-bodied Afghan who has found himself on Pakistan's territory into cannon fodder in an aggression against his native country? Actually, only a small number of the "refugees" are counter-revolutionaries by virtue of their ideological convictions: these are former landowners and representatives of other privileged strata. The fate of most of the "refugees", illiterate peasants and nomads dependent on their old masters, is often really tragic. Deception or threats are resorted to in order to force them to leave their country. Apart from that, thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of Afghans, who had regularly travelled to Pakistan in search of work under Daoud's regime, have virtually found themselves trapped there. They were simply prevented from returning home. Some of the "refugees" feared unjustified repressions from the traitor Amin's government. According to those who managed to escape from refugee camps in Pakistan and return to Afghanistan, large numbers of their compatriots were eager to return home. However, the Pakistani authorities offer them only one choice: through the secret mountain passes with arms which will be used against their own people and country. Those who wish to return by legal means can expect to be punished severely by the Pakistani authorities. Refugees bound for Afghanistan are often shot by Pakistani border-guards (such instances were particularly frequent in late 1983-early 1984), others are detained and kept in refugee camps with all the ensuing consequences. The Pakistani special agencies have set up a network of informers in the camps to hunt out those who have set their hearts on returning home. They are immediately isolated from the

other refugees, confined to punishment cells, and the most active among them are eliminated. Mass disturbances took place in early November 1984 in refugee camps near Peshawar. They were caused by the arbitrary nature of the Islamabad military regime which is forcibly detaining in Pakistan Afghan citizens who wish to return home. The demonstrators were surrounded by Pakistani troops and forced back to the camps. Tear gas was used and several Afghans were killed, many were wounded.

At the same time, Zia ul-Haq's regime is exerting more and more pressure on the Afghan "refugees" with a view towards forcibly drawing as many of them as possible into the counter-revolutionary movement. Films showing "brutalities" allegedly committed in Afghanistan, which have been fabricated with the direct participation of Pakistani special agencies, are shown on a regular basis in the refugee camps. Such films, TV programmes and other means are used to instill in the refugees the idea that the only way for an "honest Muslim" to return home is by taking up arms. Leaflets and posters calling upon Afghans to join the "ranks of the resistance" are regularly circulated in districts populated by refugees.

The Pakistanis have no scruples about seizing people by force. In December 1983, for instance, a gang of Dushmans succeeded in capturing, if only for a short time, a customshouse near the Khyber Pass. Thirty-seven Afghan customs officials were escorted into Pakistan where they were forcibly detained and subjected to torture in an attempt to draw them into the war against their own people. As reported by Reuters news agency from Peshawar, only four months later, in April 1984, following official protests did the Pakistani authorities "return to their country 28 of the 37 Afghan officials who had been detained since last December".

Throughout 1984 Afghans were "recruited" into rebel gangs in a number of camps, among them those in Azakhel, Jalosai, Thal, Haripur, Barari, Moonda, Alizai, Jamrud, Warsak and Barawal-Bandai. This was achieved not only by threats and use of force but also by instilling in the "recruits" a false hope of escaping from the dire poverty which is the lot of most "refugees". Here is the story of Mohammad Ismail from Chirak which he told journalists:

"Twelve people from our village, of which I was one, were sent by the local feudal lord to Hekmatyar in Pakistan to undergo military training. We were received by one of his deputies, an engineer, Ismat by name. We lived in tents and were kept on a starvation diet. In the neighbouring refugee camps the situation was even worse. People died of disease and malnutrition. Particularly desperate refugees who were prepared for anything were picked out by Hekmatyar's agitators, given food and some money, and sent to undergo military training under US, Pakistani and Egyptian instructors. We were made to believe that Islam was in danger in Afghanistan, that the country was occupied by Soviet troops and that it was necessary to fight for its independence. We were taught how to set fire to, and blow up, houses and bridges, how to kill and carry out executions. I had already realized by then that this had nothing in common with Islam. Sixty of us decided to return home. We escaped from the camp but were detained by Pakistani soldiers on the border near Chaman. Seeing that our men were armed they took us for Dushmans and let us pass. But the women and children were held as hostages. As soon as my comrades and I reached Afghanistan we went straight to the authorities..."

At the same time, i.e. at the beginning of 1983, two former Dushmans who had gone over to the side of the republic, Abdul Gaffar and Nazrullah, told journalists that a definite price had been fixed for each act of terrorism: between five and seven thousand Afghanis for killing an Afghan soldier, between 10 and 15 thousand for a Party activist or civil servant, 30 thousand for an army officer and as much as 100 thousand for destroying a tank.

There is no need to say how inhuman and immoral for Muslims is the practice of turning yesterday's poor, honest peasants into mercenary terrorists and killers. No less immoral are the privileges they are promised and granted as a pay-off, especially in such an important sphere as medical service which is virtually beyond the reach of those refugees who refuse to join the bands; those who fell ill are simply left to die. Quite another thing when Dushmans are concerned. It is an unprecedented fact that in order to exert pressure on the Afghan refugees and draw them into counter-revolutionary activity the Pakistani authorities adopted in October 1984 a decision to the effect that all

the hospitals for the Afghan emigrés in Quetta would henceforth provide services only to members of counter-revolutionary organizations. In the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan 200 Pakistani clinics and medical centres and ten or so in-patient hospitals with a staff of 2,000 have been set up for Afghan bandits who are to be infiltrated into Afghanistan. A special medical service for Afghan counter-revolutionaries headed by Colonel Rahman has been set up within the framework of the medical corps of the Pakistani armed forces. At times, however, medical aid is merely a screen for activities of another kind. For instance, the Pakistan medical international organization in Karachi supplies the Afghan counter-revolutionaries not with medicines but with arms and ammunition, and its Director, a certain Dr. M.S. Boikhan, maintains close contacts with the CIA and special agencies in the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Canada, which also provide him with financial aid. He has set up four supply stations to which arms are delivered from Karachi.

Along Secret Channels

It is through Pakistan, that arms, ammunition and materiel are delivered to gangs which are to be infiltrated into Afghanistan. They are likewise supplied with all the necessary equipment and machines.

The Pakistani authorities themselves sell arms to counter-revolutionary groups. Back in 1981, Pakistani Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Director of the War Industry Major-General Sayed Ali Nawab and Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs H. Begh met with the Chairman of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan Yusuf Al Bakr to discuss the purchase of Pakistani-made arms and ammunition by Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Within no time at all the bandits were supplied with Pakistani-made G-3 automatic rifles. There were cases when several types of modern US weapons which have been received by Pakistan as US military-economic aid have been used by the counter-revolutionaries.

The fact of the matter, however, is that Zia ul-Haq's regime provides and ensures the channels through which the detachments of Dushmans infiltrating Afghanistan are supplied with all kinds of modern weapons and materiel. Repeated confirmation of this has been provided by Western, including the US, press which can be suspected only of underestimating the level to which Washington's de facto ally—the Pakistan military regime—participates in imperialist aggression against Afghanistan. However, the facts are far too scandalous to remain secret for long. The truth will out.

According to the *Time* magazine, grenades, rocket launchers, portable surface-to-air missiles, machine- and submachine-guns, and snipers' rifles were regularly, every few days, delivered secretly to the rebel gangs in Afghanistan. All this equipment came from US military dumps in the United States and Western Europe. After the trade marks were removed from the weapons CIA agents ensured that they safely reached Pakistani ports where no one would think of holding up the deadly cargo, for, as *Time* pointed out, there is "a special arrangement" under which all cargoes arriving at Pakistani ports for "Afghan refugees" are "unloaded quickly... without going through normal customs procedures".

The strategic Karakoram Highway through the Himalayas is widely used for transporting arms to the Dushman gangs from the People's Republic of China.

What then happens to these arms has been divulged by the Paris magazine *Le Monde Diplomatique* which reported in its September issue of 1984: "The Pakistani army has taken upon itself the task of receiving and transporting light arms for the fighters of the Afghan resistance; these arms come from China and are purchased by the United States. Such a state of affairs gives the Pakistani army the chance to take its pick of the arriving materiel, to determine the number and types of weapons, and finally to decide which of the groups are to receive the weapons first. Arbitrariness leads to corruption in the Pakistani army and in the ranks of the Afghan opposition."

The Pakistani national logistics service, which provides the necessary transport, plays an active part in delivering military supplies to the armed detachments of Afghan counter-revolutionaries. This is done along ab-

solutely official lines. The decision to involve the Pakistani national logistics service in operations dealing with receipt, storage and transportation of goods for the Dushmans was adopted on November 23, 1983, at a meeting of representatives of transport agencies, the Ministry of the Interior and the Commissariat for the Affairs of Refugees.

Things have reached a point where special roads are being constructed in Pakistan to ensure deliveries of weapons and materiel to the anti-Afghan bands. Work has been going on since September 1984 to establish approaches to the Pakistani-Afghan border pass in Woocha-Dara. And roads are not the only thing! The Pakistani armed forces are engaged in constructing various facilities for the needs of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. In September 1984, the building of premises for the counter-revolutionary group headed by Yunus Khalis was completed at the eighth kilometre of the Jamrud Highway. The construction work was carried out by units of Pakistan's 11th Army Corps. Aerodromes are also being built. One of these is under construction in the vicinity of Bannu and will be used for the deliveries of materiel and weapons, including chemical weapons, to Afghan counter-revolutionary bands operating on Afghan territory. On April 3, 1984, approximately 4,000 chemical grenades were delivered by a special US Air Force plane to Peshawar where they were distributed among representatives of Islamic parties, members of the so-called Union of the Seven, for armed action on Afghan territory.

The Pakistani authorities have taken charge of the delivery of weapons and ammunition for the Afghan rebels to the border, from where the caravans are headed for Afghanistan. These operations are also being carried out across the Pakistani-Iranian border. In the last week of May 1984, eight Pakistani trucks loaded with weapons arrived in the Iranian city of Zahidan from Pakistan. A week later these weapons were delivered via the Jali-Rabat base on the Afghan-Iranian border into Afghanistan for bands set up by the Islamic Society of Afghanistan.

Generally speaking, arms are supplied to counter-revolutionaries in the north-western regions of Afghanistan from Pakistan via Iran on a more or less regular basis. In January 1984, two truckloads of weapons and ammunition

including 100 submachine-guns, five DSHK heavy machine-guns and several mortars were delivered to groups of bandits of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan operating in the Pashtoon-Zargoon Province. In April a meeting between the society's ringleaders whose groups are deployed in the provinces of Herat, Farah and Badghis, was held in Pakistan. In the vicinity of Chaman an arms dump of another anti-Afghan group has been set up. It has a supply of surface-to-air missiles, to say nothing of anti-tank mines and mortars. All these weapons are to be transported to the rebels operating in the territory of the Afghan province of Farah. In addition, detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan receive weapons from the arms depot in Terry-Mangal, on the border with Afghanistan (in the vicinity of Parachinar), before their infiltration into Afghanistan. The Pakistani borderguards let the bands pass freely into Afghan territory. Moreover, Pakistani advisers render the Dushmans practical assistance in conducting combat operations in Afghanistan. Among other things, Pakistani specialists took part in mining roads in the Province of Paktia.

Cited below are only a few of the towns and townships where the Pakistani authorities have set up ammunition depots for the Dushman bands: Tar, Koda-Khel, Peshawar, Parachinar (the site of four ammunition dumps!), Matanni, Sadda, Hangu, Moosah-Teega, Miram Shah, Masha, Wana and Chaman. Stores of food supplies for the Dushmans have been set up in the following towns and settlements in Pakistan: Chitral, Drosh (four), Dir, Mardan (two), Peshawar (twelve), Bagh (two), Parachinar (six), Kohat (six), Alizai (two), Bannu (three), Miram Shah (eight), Wana (four), Tank (three), Zhob, Chaman (two), Pishin, Quetta (three), Duki, Sheikh Waseel, Sibi, Nushki and Dalbandin.

Along Professional Lines

The cited facts are eloquent evidence that the Pakistani authorities, acting as Washington's proxies, recruit men for counter-revolutionary groups waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan, see that they are

supplied with weapons and materiel and provide them with foodstuffs. However, the Pakistan regime's special "mission" is to organize military training and ideological indoctrination of Dushmans. This is no easy matter, if one considers the low educational level of the "recruits" who, as we have seen, are drawn into the bands forcibly or under threat of starvation. In this situation the Pakistani authorities are faced with a number of related tasks: to instill in the recruited Afghans hatred for the popular government and the April Revolution; to teach them how to use modern military equipment; to teach them military discipline which should be understood as the unquestioning fulfillment of the most brutal and inhuman orders issued by the ringleaders and the commanders of Pakistani military units; to single out from among the mass of recruits those capable of taking command and also train and drill these "officers"; to help form under their command rebel detachments, train them in combat methods and tactics and how to conduct subversive and terrorist acts; to ensure that they safely cross the Pakistani-Afghan border with weapons and military equipment.

Naturally, the Washington organizers of the undeclared war against Afghanistan are quite aware that even substantial financing by the United States and such allies as Saudi Arabia is not enough to enable the Pakistan regime to solve all these problems independently. There is a need for specialists in various fields of warfare, from electronics engineers to miners and karate teachers. Pakistan's doors are opened wide for "instructors" of this kind. Among them one finds US "Viet-Nam war veterans", Chinese specialists, mercenaries from France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries with extensive experience acquired in shady colonial ventures. The Pakistani authorities have been given instructions to treat their passports, forged as they often are, with particular respect. "Instructors" and "teachers" of various "professions" are immediately sent to military training centres for Dushmans. A network of these centres has been set up both in refugee camps and independently, virtually along the entire Pakistani-Afghan border. Organizing these centres, normalizing the "teaching process" there, providing them with the necessary materials, the "students" with barracks and the "teachers" with living quarters, and, no

less important, ensuring their protection—all this is chiefly the task of the Pakistani military authorities. And note should be made of the fact that the military character of the Pakistan regime is well suited to ensure the effective and uninterrupted operation of this network, or rather chain of training centres which are veritable bridgeheads of aggressive activities against Afghanistan.

There are now 100 centres in Pakistani territory where Dushmans receive general and specialized military training. It is in these centres that they are taught to handle armoured motorcars and motorcycles and trained in subversive and terrorist activities, the use of pyrotechnics, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, rockets and—something very telling!—chemical weapons. There are centres for training in subversive and terrorist activities in Dir, Barwa, Faqiribad, Darmangi, Attock, Masho-Khel and Parachinar; centres for training in the use of anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons are located in Tangi, Tora-Teega, Warsak and Kundakalay; there is a centre for training in the use of chemical weapons in Nushki, and so on. Courses for Dushman "officers" have been set up in several training centres in order to provide a more effective and competent command for the bands.

The training period lasts from between two or more weeks to over six months depending on the kind of training. The biggest training centres, for 600 men or more, are located in the vicinity of Peshawar, Parachinar, Dir, Miram Shah, Quetta, Chaman, Chitral, Kohat and elsewhere. There is a particularly large number in the vicinity of Peshawar. In Calcota (a suburb of Peshawar) some 150 counter-revolutionaries are trained in the use of portable anti-aircraft missiles and anti-aircraft machine-guns. In Faqiribad, another Peshawar suburb, eight separate groups of twenty men are being trained at any one time for subversive and terrorist activities. The training centre for fighters of the so-called Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan set up west of Peshawar and known among the bandits as "Baboo Regiment" provides military training for a large group of counter-revolutionaries. Instructors from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Egypt train them in the use of mortars, recoilless weapons, anti-aircraft machine-guns, grenade launchers and other types of weapons. A great deal of attention is devoted to

training rebels for performing acts of subversion at facilities vital to the national economy and blowing up transport communications. Another centre of the Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan known as "Regiment of Arbob-Rudah" is deployed south of Peshawar. There some 500 bandits receive comprehensive military training under British, French, Egyptian and Pakistani instructors.

In Peshawar and its suburbs there are more than 13 centres and assembly points and small camps where rebels undergo training in combat tactics in the conditions of Afghan terrain, the use of anti-aircraft machine-guns and artillery weapons, and the methods of conducting subversive and terroristic activities on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan.

A Multi-Level System

It is indicative that all these training centres are protected by the Pakistani armed forces which maintain a strict watch over them. This is done because of the location of these centres and the national composition of their training staff. For instance, a training centre of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan located some 20 kilometres south-west of Peshawar has US and French instructors on its staff. It is the site of a Military Lycée and Military School. In the lycée rank-and-file rebels learn the use of small arms and are trained in methods of conducting subversive and terroristic activities. The school trains ringleaders for counter-revolutionary bands and instructors for other training centres. In one of the training centres of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan four of the 12 American instructors are women, a fact that is usually withheld.

There are also certain "advanced training courses" for the rebels. Thus, from July 1983 to July 1984 several Dushman groups, who had returned for this period from Afghanistan, specifically from the Province of Herat, underwent military and special training in Pakistan. Among them were the ringleaders of the bands of the Islamic

Society of Afghanistan, Ghulam Sarwar, engineer Zia, Yahya Goorgh, and Mohammad Khan.

In early 1984 special courses were set up in Quetta for training skilled secret service agents and saboteurs. Instruction there is conducted by Europeans posing as Arab emigrés. The "students" are selected from among those Dushmans who have the necessary educational background. Their number is rather small: 200 men divided into groups of 14-15. The future spies learn the skills of recruiting, cryptography, contacting agents, etc. A new training centre has been set up some 40 kilometres from Quetta where 20 or so US advisers train Afghan counter-revolutionaries in the tactics and methods of guerrilla warfare. The period of training is six months. Those showing the best results are dispatched for further training to the United States for a period of a year. The apartments of US instructors are guarded by Pakistani servicemen.

Such a multi-level training system is employed not only by US representatives but also by the Pakistani authorities.

During the first half of 1984, ten groups of bandits numbering over 150 men were dispatched to Pakistan for advanced military training from the Afghan Province of Ghor. Within the same period approximately 450 Dushmans returned to the province after undergoing advanced training in Peshawar, Quetta and Jamrud. The most active of these bands are those headed by Abdul Sattar, who spent two years in Pakistan, Abdul Qayum Khan who underwent six weeks' training there, and Mawlawi Moossa, who stayed four months in Pakistan.

However, things do not always go according to plan. In the latter half of September 1983 Abdul Hadi, son of Abdul Adah, a member of the Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, gave himself up to Afghan security services. He said that in October 1982 he had fallen into the rebels' hands and shortly afterwards was dispatched to Pakistan. He spent nearly a month in a camp close to the Afghan border. The camp was guarded by Pakistani tribal military formations.

From this camp Abdul Hadi was transferred to a military training centre located in Jamrud, some 12 kilometres west of Peshawar. This training centre, also known as the "regiment" to the rebels, is headed by Sayed Nabi, a

native of the Afghan Province of Loghar. Here the rebels undergo general military training, are taught to use weapons and mines, and are acquainted with the methods of ambush warfare and attacks on small military formations and motor transport columns. After three months' training, capable "students" are dispatched to a training centre in the vicinity of Parachinar, where they spend another three months being trained in guerrilla warfare tactics, learning to organize acts of subversion and take charge of Dushman groups. Some of the rebels specialize in subversive and terrorist activities and political propaganda. Upon completing their course of training they receive an appropriate certificate which testifies that they have become skilled terrorists. Most of the "graduates" are appointed "commanders" or "deputy commanders" of the bands.

In the first week of September 1983 Abdul Hadi was infiltrated into the Province of Loghar with Zabi Mateen's band. A few days later, disillusioned with the aims of the counter-revolutionary movement, he escaped to Kabul and gave himself up to the authorities.

The Dushmans are drilled not only in classes and training grounds. Indicative of the recent period was the fact that their bands participated in several military manoeuvres with Pakistani borderguards and received advanced training in Pakistani army ranks.

Thus, in early 1984, two hundred and fifty Dushmans, members of different counter-revolutionary anti-Afghan organizations, completed the course of training on the territory of a Pakistani military aerodrome near Jamrud. They received practical training in the use of armoured motorcars and motorcycles. They were acquainted with tank armaments and learned to throw grenades while riding motorcycles. Some 200 bandits from the Islamic Society of Afghanistan are being trained in the training centre of the Pakistani paratroopers in the vicinity of Mardan, where Egyptian instructors teach them to operate recoilless guns, mortars and anti-aircraft guns. The command of the borderguard corps in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan is of enormous assistance in training the Dushmans. In the corps' training centre the rebels learn to use anti-aircraft weapons. Afghan counter-revolutionaries have been seen taking part in border patrol manoeuvres in the Khyber, Momand and Kurram frontier districts in Pakistan. The Pakistani army is playing an increasingly important role: between 1980 and 1982 it had chiefly secured the rear in the undeclared war against Afghanistan; between 1983 and 1984, in accordance with instructions from the United States, it gradually went over to providing supplies of arms and organizing military training for the counter-revolutionary bands, and is now becoming more and more directly involved in the aggression. And this too is a multi-level system of its own kind, highly reminiscent of the "escalation of war" concept conceived in Washington during the war of aggression against Viet-Nam.

The Sources of Misfortune

This took place on December 18, 1983, in the vicinity of the frontier post Torkham in the Province of Nangarhar. The daily routine of the Afghan borderguards and customs officials was cut short by artillery blasts and the buzzing of bullets. Within minutes most of the houses in this peaceful settlement were turned to rubble. Orders from borderguards trying to organize their defences alternated with the moans of the wounded. The first victims appeared. A cloud of acrid smoke from the conflagration rose over the settlement.

Pakistani borderguard units had joined the Dushmans in launching a treacherous attack on Torkham; this bloody provocation was engineered and masterminded by Pakistani special services.

Eighteen months previously, Pakistani servicemen Tahir and Rahim, accompanied by two counter-revolutionaries and a guide, secretly made their way into Afghan territory in the vicinity of Peer Saray. In an attempt to fulfill their subversive mission, one of the Pakistanis perished in a mine blast; the other "visitors" quickly withdrew. On July 12, 1982, they placed before their chiefs in Peshawar "material evidence" of their visit to Afghanistan—the body of their unfortunate accomplice.

Plans for an Intervention

First reports about the plans to use mercenaries' detachments to suppress the April Revolution appeared in the Western press four years ago. They concerned British and

US cutthroats specially trained in carrying out terrorist operations. It was not for the first time that the "dogs of war", as hired killers are contemptuously called, had undertaken such a dirty job. International reaction, which pays for the mercenaries' services, has unchained them to fight against national liberation movements in various parts of the world. Four years ago the Western press published reports about these people who began to move towards the Afghan borders under sensational headings, seeking in every way possible to surround their dirty business with the halo of struggle against the "communist threat".

Even if yesterday's sensation still figures in the press, today it becomes stale news. At present, the whole world is well aware that apart from Dushman bands, "volunteers" of various nationalities, instigated by Western special services, are directly involved in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Judging by their passports, these "volunteers" are citizens of the United States, Britain, France, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other countries. Essentially, they are criminals who grossly violate the norms of international law and the laws of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Their illegal infiltration into the territory of a sovereign state is clear evidence of their interference in the Afghan domestic affairs, sanctioned by imperialist powers and regional reaction.

There is irrefutable proof that Pakistan was the first to start such overt interference with US consent and direction. It is not only that Pakistan had readily offered its territory for the deployment of headquarters and bases for the counter-revolutionaries and become the principal bridgehead of aggression against Afghanistan, it has also been proved beyond all doubt that the military regime headed by General Zia ul-Haq is guilty of attempting to intervene directly so as to suppress our national-democratic revolution.

Immediately after receiving reports from Kabul of the overthrow of Daoud's anti-democratic regime, Islamabad busily began planning an invasion of Afghanistan. In February 1980, the Paris *Afrique-Asie* journal published an article giving details of the anti-Afghan manoeuvres carried out by the military dictatorship. Its title spoke volumes: *Pakistan. Zia's Plot.*

The Pakistani President initiated meetings between

counter-revolutionary groupings located in Lahore and Peshawar in order to devise a strategy of first strikes from abroad against the revolutionary gains of the Afghan people. With his connivance, Pakistani military helicopters were made available to leaders of the counter-revolutionaries for reconnaissance flights along the border so as to determine the points where Afghan territory could be penetrated. In order to "mobilize politically the masses of people", the dictator himself went to border provinces, where he delivered militant speeches, instigating nomadic tribes to rise against the "infidels".

The Pakistani Military Council was even more hostile in its attitude, and some of its members proposed an immediate invasion of the neighbouring country and establishing "Islam legality" by force of arms.

It was at that time that the CIA residents in Islamabad, John Reagan and Robert Lessard, agreed on joint action against Afghanistan with the heads of the Pakistani intelligence bureau, Radkhor and Alam. The two Americans then paid a visit to the Minister of Information and Radio Broadcasting and discussed with him a propaganda programme of a subversive nature aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary government in Kabul. General Rahman Khanoo, considered by the CIA to be an expert in the field of ideological subversion, was assigned to take charge of the psychological brainwashing of the Afghan population. More shall be said about this later.

It is worthy of note that Robert Lessard, whom high-ranking governmental and military officials in Islamabad respectfully and readily obeyed, had long since showed himself to be a treacherous and malicious enemy of the Afghan people. Way back in 1974 he was expelled from Afghanistan for activities incompatible with his diplomatic status at that time. Lessard, a man who has devoted his life to fighting against national-democratic revolutions, found loyal allies in Islamabad.

In the spring of 1979 numerous insurgents moved like locusts along previously prepared passages through the border deep into Afghanistan. Counter-revolutionary formations were reinforced by Pakistani servicemen. Some of them were placed to lead rebel formations. For example, Deputy Police Inspector-General of the North-West Frontier Province Kanzade Khan led a gang of cutthroats

deep into Afghan territory up to the Kama district of the Nangarhar Province.

According to Hani Baloch, an *Afrique-Asie* correspondent, who was an eyewitness, Pakistan had been seized by a militant fever. Military units were being hastily transferred from the Indian border to the West. An armoured division was brought to Peshawar. Accompanied by local generals, high-ranking Chinese army officers regularly visited Pakistani-Afghan border regions. Judging by all the evidence, a large-scale armed venture was being prepared.

There can be no doubt that it was only the USSR's firm and principled stand that dissuaded Islamabad from launching an overt act of armed aggression. However, the Zia ul-Haq regime was not going to shut away its aggressive plans, nor did it give up its striving to topple democracy and freedom in the neighbouring country. Generously armed and encouraged by the United States, Pakistan only changed its tactics and began to rely on clandestine, illegal forms of interference.

Under the Cover of Night

The village of Shalbafan is located in the Injil district, not far from the town of Jalalabad. There are three dozen mud houses there, buried in the green orchards in a rather narrow valley confined on the one side by mountain range and on the other by the stony bed of the Sorkhrood river. The savage sun tries its best to incinerate everything living there almost all year round. Many generations of Afghan peasants have toiled arduously to wrest tiny plots of irrigated land, orchards and vineyards from the desert. Considerable effort is required to obtain every seer of wheat and every cornbob.

After the victory of the April Revolution rumours about land reform and state subsidies to peasants spread to these regions located far from the capital. The new government promised to distribute land fairly, provide peasants with fertilizers, seeds, farm implements, and help build irrigation facilities. The Revolution translated the long-cherished desires of the people into reality.

But today, six and a half years after the April Revolution, Shalbafan has a sinister appearance. Many houses have been abandoned or destroyed. Fields have fallen in a state of neglect and irrigation ditches have dried up.

The tragedy of Shalbafan, like hundreds of other Afghan settlements, is that the counter-revolutionary rabble have chosen it as a trans-shipping point en route from Pakistan deep into Afghanistan. Along with Dushmans, persons possessing Pakistani citizenship have appeared there more than once. Under the cover of night they inconspicuously cross the border and, after arriving at Shalbafan or some other previously arranged place, lead terrorist operations against local patriots. They set Dushmans against all bodies which have anything to do with revolutionary changes, be it a party committee, reading-and-writing courses or a peasant cooperative.

As a rule, Dushmans are trained in camps located on the other side of the border in the various methods of conducting subversive activities by Pakistani advisers or instructors. In fulfilment of the will of their bosses—high-ranking officers in Islamabad or professional saboteurs employed in the secret services in certain Western countries and China—these "tutors" penetrate into Afghanistan in order to make sure that the counter-revolutionary operations have the desired effect and that the methods employed to train bandits are effective.

Journalists heard about such facts, in particular from Fulad Alamos, a former chauffeur of the leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, a major counter-revolutionary organization, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Alamos had voluntarily gone over to the side of the Revolution. He had previously spent a long time in the Hekmatyar headquarters in Peshawar and received numerous assignments to accompany uninvited foreign guests via the border.

Recently, instances when Pakistani servicemen have blatantly penetrated Afghanistan have become particularly frequent. A short time ago thirteen saboteurs, calling themselves "advisers", made an illegal trip to the Province of Herat. It can hardly be regarded as pure coincidence that counter-revolutionary bands have become far more active since their visit. The Pakistani *Urdu Digest* cited evidence of Pakistani servicemen's participation in combat operations in the provinces of Paktia and Paktika. For example, according to the journal, there are 22 armed Punjabis in Paktika.

On July 25, 1984, a team of 40 Pakistani "commandos" led by an army major were transferred via the Afghan border in the Terry-Mangal region. They had been assigned the task of providing military support to the rebel formations in the Kabul region. There is every reason to believe that the Pakistanis have been involved in some of the bloody terrorist operations in the Afghan capital, aimed against the civilian population—old men, women and children.

Afghanistan possesses further concrete evidence of the fact that Islamabad has begun to resort to the open use of military force against our country. Instances of the violation of Afghan air space have become more frequent, with Pakistani pilots now being ordered to destroy actual targets. Previously, Pakistani air force planes carried out mainly reconnaissance tasks. (For example, on November 3, 1983, three fighter planes violated the Afghan border in the Kunar Province; and on November 19, 1983, a military helicopter flew over Afghan frontier posts in the southern part of the Kandahar Province.) Recently, on September 5, 1984, military aircraft violated Afghan air space in the Barikot region in the Kunar Province and attacked Afghan helicopters, seriously damaging two of them. In late October 1984, Pakistani artillery fired on Afghan territory, as a result of which several Afghan civilians and servicemen were injured.

Have Pakistan's actions really been an answer to the peaceful initiatives we advanced during the Geneva talks?

The Pakistani military regime is extremely inconsistent: it states in words that it desires a peaceful settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, but in fact not only is it stepping up aid to the rebels but also escalating its own combat operations against Afghanistan. It would seem that President Zia ul-Haq has become a toy in the hands of his powerful US bosses; his policy fully reflects their strategic interests in the region.

As far as the village of Shalbafan is concerned, it has been reported again that Pakistani servicemen have re-

cently been seen there. One of them instructed the gang headed by a certain Aref Zabi. The other four visited the Injil district in February and March 1984. It can be confidently stated that after these visits there are now more widows and orphans there.

These people from outside bring grief and death fo Afghanistan.

Firing Salvoes of Slander

It is not quite correct to say that Pakistan has given up its plans for open intervention. It has already embarked on this intervention and been continuing to intervene for more than five years before the eyes of the whole world. What is meant is extensive ideological aggression against Afghanistan in which the huge propaganda machine of the military regime and the special services and organizations of Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which have virtually become an appendage of the Pakistani military, are taking part.

They are extremely generous in providing funds for subversive propaganda operations which they consider as important in the undeclared war as acts of sabotage and terrorism.

Pakistan has long been exploiting the "Afghan question" for its own unsavoury propaganda purposes. First of all, according to all the rules of psychological warfare, the authorities first brainwashed the population of Pakistan, making special use of extreme right-wing religious figures who, in their carefully censored sermons, called for arms to be lifted up against the April Revolution which, allegedly, is disagreeable to Allah. Then Islamabad launched an extensive propaganda campaign among the Afghans themselves, trying to instil in them a hostile counter-revolutionary ideology.

Ideological sabotage against Afghanistan is directed by the Ministry of Information and Radio Broadcasting on the basis of President Zia ul-Haq's special directive issued in the latter half of 1982. Eight radio stations regularly

broadcast hostile propaganda in the languages of the people of Afghanistan. In preparing these programmes Pakistanis cooperate with representatives of anti-Afghan groupings and Western propaganda centres. So-called mobile information centres whose main purpose is to spread slanderous material about the events in Afghanistan have been set up in Lahore and Peshawar.

The Pakistani authorities have kindly given shelter to Kabul Free Radio which has been set up by the United States. It has at its disposal eleven stationary radio transmitters installed near the Afghan-Pakistani border. The material for the provocative broadcasts is borrowed from Voice of America programmes and those of other Western radio stations; further assistance is provided by the headquarters of counter-revolutionary organizations which also have a huge machinery for ideological sabotage, lies, blackmail and provocations.

Day after day these radio stations pour out streams of barefaced lies of falsified reports and try to prove the "illegal nature" of the Kabul government. They constantly repeat the thesis on "the enemies of the Koran" as they call those who want to see Afghanistan become a flourishing and free country. The subversive propaganda centres treacherously exploit the fact that millions of Afghan nomads and peasants are totally illiterate, do not understand politics and have a blind faith in religious slogans. The calls which sound from abroad to "wage a holy war against the infidels" are designed to affect precisely these people.

The war against whom? Against the people who for the first time in Afghanistan's long history try not in word but in deed to lift the people out of their dire poverty, lack of rights and hunger. Against the legitimate government which in its decrees confirms its respect for religion and which in its everyday activity demonstrates its true loyalty to the Holy Koran.

Crude lies are the favourite method used by counter-revolutionary propaganda which is called upon to prevent a stabilization of the situation in Afghanistan, hinder the progress of democratic reforms and create in the country an atmosphere of chaos and uncertainty, in a word, to undermine and weaken the position of the revolutionary government.

The radio stations and other centres of subversive

propaganda near Afghan borders are trying to drive a wedge in the 60-year friendship between Afghanistan and the USSR, whip up anti-Soviet sentiments among different sections of the population, and stir up hatred for the soldiers and officers of the limited contingent of Soviet troops which are in Afghanistan at the request of its government in order to help it defend freedom and independence from encroachments from the outside.

Islamabad's government radio stations, the transmitters of counter-revolutionary groupings on Pakistani territory and CIA-financed centres of ideological sabotage are one choir which repeats day in day out false statements about the "Soviet occupation", "bloody atrocities by the Russians", "impressive victories by the Mujaheddins", and other such lies.

If one is to believe these radio stations, then the number of tanks and armoured cars destroyed and soldiers killed by the rebels exceeds that which the Soviet Armed Forces actually possess. It was from Pakistani territory that such absurdities as "the Soviet Union's wish to settle all the Afghans in Siberia" were broadcast. The saboteurs on the radio lied about the "presence in Afghanistan of Czechoslovak, Cuban and South Yemeni troops", the "use of chemical weapons", the "capture by the Mujaheddins of Kandahar, Herat and other towns".

They are the ones who do not care a fig for the laws of the Muslim religion and the Koran's commandments one of which says, "Woe to any liar".

Specialists in psychological warfare who have had experience in inventing various lies take part in the brainwashing of Afghan refugees in the camps on Pakistani territory. Many of those wretched people would have returned to their homes long ago, had their consciousness not been dulled by hostile and false propaganda. The refugees are told that at home they would be killed or, at best, imprisoned. The decrees of the Afghan government which guarantee complete freedom and opportunities to engage in peaceful work to all those who return home are carefully concealed from them. A distorted picture about the nature and tasks of the revolutionary reforms and the situation in the country is spread among the people who left Afghanistan several years ago for various reasons. The objective is clear: the refugees, people who have been

brainwashed, deceived, frightened and who often face death from starvation are the people considered by the counter-revolutionaries to be their reserve from among whom they can recruit terrorists, murderers and traitors.

The Pakistani authorities sometimes like to complain about the problems created by the presence of Afghan refugees. But it is clear that Islamabad is not interested in seeing these deceived people return home. Information recently was leaked to the Western press about the new role Pakistan and the United States are preparing for the refugees: they are now being recruited to the CIA's special secret teams for use in various countries against the progressive forces which are opposed to US policies. The Palestine Liberation Organization is one such force.

Citizens of some Western states who call themselves journalists enter our territory regularly, with the assistance of the Pakistani military administration. Receiving a good deal of money, they enter our country with cameras in order to concoct new lies about our Revolution and our people. The Pakistani leaders even shoulder the expenses for these unsavoury missions in order to harm Afghanistan as much as possible.

Islamabad helps the Dushmans to publish large quantities of leaflets, newspapers, magazines and books which are full of hatred for the April Revolution. With the active assistance of the military regime a large printing shop for the counter-revolution was recently opened in the North-West Frontier Province (the town of Jalosai, Cherat District). It puts out publications in several languages, including Persian, Pashto, Urdu, Arabic and English.

Many things testify to the fact that Pakistan has embarked on the road of the escalation of psychological warfare with increasingly sophisticated methods. On July 5, 1984, Zia ul-Haq had a conference with representatives from the United States, China, Egypt and Saudi Arabia at which the questions of stepping up the propaganda campaign against Afghanistan were discussed. It was decided, in particular, to send to Afghanistan, along with armed bands, special propaganda groups, which would include Pakistani citizens.

In the autumn a reactionary and former Senator from Washington, now the President of the subversive Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, James L. Buckley, came to

Islamabad. He studied the activities of the Afghan counter-revolutionary information centres and tried hard to speed up the implementation of the agreement reached earlier with President Zia ul-Haq on opening in Peshawar branches of his radio stations which everybody knows are financed by the CIA. This agreement is another unfriendly act of the Pakistani administration.

The UN Declaration on Principles of International Law says, "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State... Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

As one can see, Pakistan violates *all* the provisions mentioned above and tramples under foot the standards of international law. The dark shadow of aggression and suffering is falling on our country from the south-east.

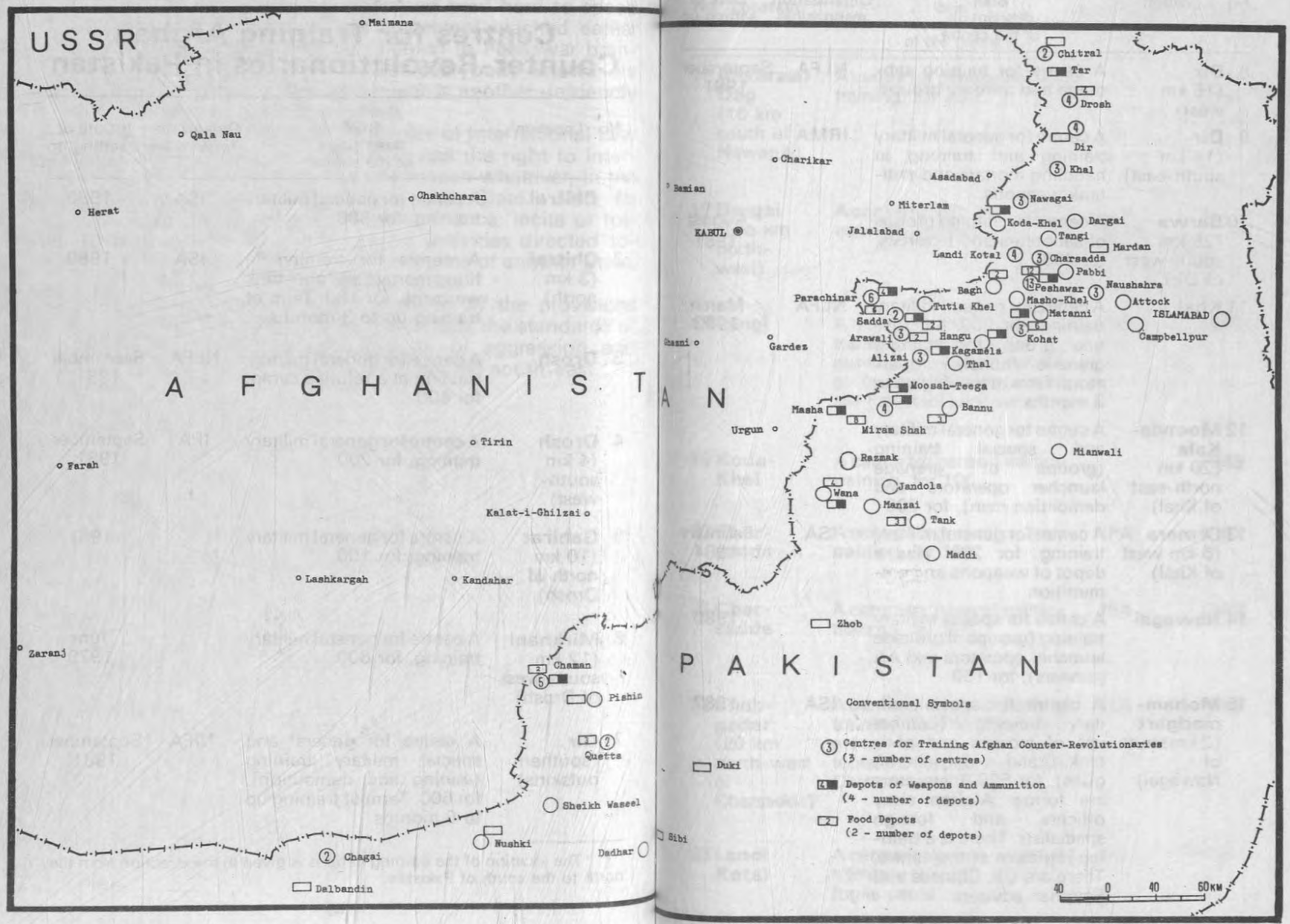
Appendix I

Centres for Training Afghan Counter-Revolutionaries in Pakistan

No	Location[1]	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
1	**Chitral**	A centre for general military training, for 300	ISA	1980
2	**Chitral** (3 km north)	A centre for training in firing mortars and anti-tank weapons, for 100. Term of training up to 3 months	ISA	1980
3	**Drosh**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 600	NLFA	September 1981
4	**Drosh** (4 km south-west)	A centre for general military training, for 200	IPA	September 1981
5	**Gahirat** (10 km north of Drosh)	A centre for general military training, for 100		1981
6	**Mirkhani** (12 km south-west of Drosh)	A centre for general military training, for 600		June 1979
7	**Dir** (southern outskirts)	A centre for general and special military training (mining and demolition), for 600. Term of training up to 6 months	NIFA	September 1981

[1]The location of the training centres is given in the direction from the north to the south of Pakistan.

Centres for Training Afghan Counter-Revolutionaries in Pakistan



No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
8	**Dir** (15 km west)	A centre for training sabotage and terrorist groups	NLFA	September 1981
9	**Dir** (14 km south-east)	A centre for general military training and training in handling mortars and anti-tank weapons	IRMA	
10	**Barwa** (25 km south-west of Dir)	A centre for training groups of saboteurs and terrorists, for 400		August 1981
11	**Khal**	A centre for general military training, for 200. Includes one group for training grenade launcher operators. Term of training up to 3 months	NLFA	March 1982
12	**Moonda-Kala** (20 km north-east of Khal)	A centre for general military and special training (groups of grenade launcher operators and demolition men), for 200		
13	**Ormara** (5 km west of Khal)	A centre for general military training, for 200. Has a depot of weapons and ammunition	ISA	February 1984
14	**Nawagai**	A centre for special military training (groups of grenade launcher operators and AA gunners), for 150		1980
15	**Mohammadgart** (2 km south of Nawagai)	A centre for special military training (combat use of mortars and anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns), for 500. Instructors are former Afghan army officers and foreign specialists. There is a training regiment at the centre. There are US, Chinese and Egyptian advisers	ISA	1982

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
16	**Ahkarzai-Dag** (10 km south of Nawagai)	A centre for general military training, for 200		June 1978
17	**Dargai** (one km north-west)	A centre for general military training, for 250	ISA, IRMA	
18	**Tangi**	A centre for special military training (combat use of mortars, anti-tank and AA guns), for 900. Instructors are Pakistani servicemen	IPA	1983
19	**Koda-Khel**	A centre for general military training, for 100		1983
20	**Charsadda**	A centre for general military training, for 150	IPA	1981
21	**Charsadda**	A centre for general military training, for 200	ISA	1982
22	**Shabgadar** (20 km north-west of Charsadda)	A centre for general military training, for 100. There is a group for training saboteurs. Instructors are Chinese specialists	ISA	1983
23	**Landi Kotal**	A centre for general military training, for 300, at a refugee camp	IPA	1981

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
24	**Tora-Teega** (5 km north of Landi Kotal)	A centre for training specialists in combat use of anti-tank weapons, for 80	IPA	1983
25	**Khonaki-Kila** (15 km north-east of Landi Kotal)	A centre for special military training (combat use of hand grenade launchers and large-calibre machine-guns), for 100	IPA	March 1984
26	**Lowara-mena** (12 km north-east of Landi Kotal)	A centre for special military training (mining and demolition, anti-tank and AA weapons), for 300. Instructors are American and Chinese specialists	IUMA	August 1984
27	**Bagh**	A centre for general military training, for 150		September 1979
28	**Warsak** (30 km north-west of Peshawar)	A centre for training specialists in combat use of AA weapons, including the Arrow-2M portable AA rocket launching unit and rocket launchers, for 700. Term of training from 3 to 6 months. Instructors are American and Egyptian specialists	IPA, NIFA NLFA	December 1979
29	**Ismail-Kila** (20 km north-west of Peshawar)	A centre for training in firing mortars, hand anti-tank grenade launchers and small arms, for 200. Term of training from 3 to 6 months	IPA, IRMA	

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
30	**Michni Fort** (22 km north-west of Peshawar)	A centre for training in firing automatic weapons and hand anti-tank grenade launchers, for 70. Term of training from 2 to 3 months		
31	**Kacha-Garhi** (10 km north-west of Peshawar)	A centre for general military training of rebels at the Naserbagh refugee camp. There is a group for training in mining and demolition. Instructors are Pakistanis	NIFA	
32	**Peshawar-1**	A centre for training specialists in combat use of various weapons. Located in the city near the *Firdausi* Cinema. Instructors are Chinese specialists	IPA, ISA	
33	**Peshawar-2** (western outskirts)	A centre for general military training of rebels from various parties, for 400. Instructors are Pakistani officers		
34	**Peshawar-3** (western outskirts)	A centre for training in handling various weapons, for 300. Instructors are Pakistanis and former Afghan officers	IRMA, NIFA	
35	**Faqirabad** (a suburb of Peshawar)	A centre for general and special military training, for 400. There is a group for training saboteurs and terrorists. Instructors are Chinese		

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
36	**Calcota** (a suburb of Peshawar)	A centre for training specialists in combat use of AA weapons, including portable AA rocket launchers, for 150	IPA	November 1981
37	**Darmangi** (north-western outskirts of Peshawar)	A centre for general military training, for 100. There is a group for training saboteurs and terrorists. Term of training 6 months	NLFA	
38	**Tahal-Paian-Bala** (5 km west of Peshawar)	A centre for training specialists in subversive propaganda, for 200. Term of training one and a half months	IPA	
39	**Jamrud** (12 km west of Peshawar)	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 700. There is a group for training AA gunners		1980
40	**Fort Salop** (20 km south-west of Peshawar)	A centre for training radio specialists, for 100	IPA, ISA	
41	**Pabbi**	A centre for general military training, for 60	ISA	
42	**Naushahra** (Nowshera)	A centre for general military training, for 250. There is a group for training demolition specialists. Term of training up to 3 months. Instructors are Pakistanis	IPA	

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
43	**Dagbesud** (17 km west of Naushahra)	A centre for general military training, for 100. Instructors are retired Pakistani officers	NIFA, NLFA	
44	**Jalosai** (20 km south-west of Naushahra)	A centre for general military training		August 1982
45	**Attock**	A centre for training saboteurs for carrying out acts of sabotage on the territory of Afghanistan. Instructors are American, Chinese and Pakistani specialists. China delivers weapons and components of special equipment		
46	**Masho-Khel** (Bara Fort)	A centre for training former Afghan servicemen in reconnaissance and carrying out acts of sabotage, for 300. Term of training 3 months. Instructors are American and Pakistani specialists		August 1982
47	**Campbellpur**	A centre for training in firing large-calibre machine-guns, hand grenade launchers, mortars, and in acts of sabotage and terrorism		
48	**Islamabad**	A centre for training commanders of units and groups of rebels. Instructors are military specialists from the US, China and Pakistan		

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
49	**Matanni**	A centre for general military training, for 250	NLFA	
50	**Tutia Khel**	A centre for training specialists in combat use of AA weapons against low-flying targets. Instructors are Americans		
51	**Parachinar** (northern outskirts)	A centre for general military training, for 400. Term of training one month. There is a firing range	ISA, IRMA, NLFA	February 1981
52	**Parachinar** (on the territory of an army camp)	A centre for training in acts of sabotage and terrorism, for 25. Instructors are Pakistanis		February 1981
53	**Dhand** (10 km east of Parachinar)	A centre for general and special military training, for 800. Term of training up to 6 months	IPA	
54	**Terry-Mangal** (15 km west of Parachinar)	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 150. Term of training 3 months	IPA, NIFA	
55	**Ghozgarkhi** (12 km south-west of Parachinar)	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 100. Term of training 3 months	IP of Yunus Khalis	

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
56	**Mela** (5 km east of Parachinar)	A centre for general military training. Instructors are former Afghan officers	IPA	
57	**Sadda**	A centre for general military training. There is a training regiment (1,200). Terms of training one month and 3 months. Instructors are Egyptians	IRMA	November 1981
58	**Sadda** (eastern outskirts)	A centre for training specialists in firing portable AA rocket launchers		November 1981
59	**Arawali** (10 km west)	A centre for general military training, for 80	IPA	January 1979
60	**Hazeer Peer** (3 km south of Arawali)	A centre for general military training, for 60	NLFA	March 1981
61	**Baseul-Kila** (6 km south of Arawali)	A centre for training saboteurs from among former Afghan servicemen, for 40	NLFA	March 1981
62	**Alizai**	A centre for training specialists in mining and demolition and AA gunners, for 50	ISA	August 1980
63	**Baghzai** (12 km south-west of Alizai)	A centre for general military training and for training saboteurs and terrorists, for 50	IP of Yunus Khalis	February 1981
64	**Kagamela** (6 km south-west of Alizai)	A centre for training demolition specialists and AA gunners, for 150		August 1982

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
65	**Hangu**	A centre for general military training		
66	**Kunda-kalay** (5 km north of Kohat)	A centre for training anti-tank and AA gunners, including specialists in combat use of portable rocket launchers	NLFA	
67	**Kohat** (eastern outskirts)	A centre for training rebels from various counter-revolutionary parties. Commanders of units and groups and specialists are trained. Instructors are Americans, Chinese and Egyptians		April 1981
68	**Aimalcha-butra** (16 km north of Kohat)	A centre for training specialists in combat use of AA weapons and mortars, for 200. Term of training from 2 to 3 months after which the rebels undergo intensive training at the centre in Warsak		
69	**Thal** (3 km east)	A centre for training specialists in mining and demolition and AA gunners. Located on the territory of an army camp, for 70	NLFA	
70	**Miram Shah** (3 km north-west)	A centre for training various specialists, for 700. Term of training up to 6 months. There is a group for training saboteurs. Instructors are Americans and Pakistanis	IPA, NIFA	January 1979

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
71	**Spinwam** (35 km north-east of Miram Shah)	A centre for training specialists in mining and demolition and in fighting armoured vehicles, for 150. Instructors are Chinese		
72	**Jelam Khan** (17 km north-west of Miram Shah)	A centre for training AA gunners and grenade launcher operators	NIFA	August 1981
73	**Mir Ali** (18 km east of Miram Shah)	A centre for general military and special training, for 2,000. Located on the territory of an army camp. There are special groups of terrorists who are trained in firing weapons with silencers and rifles with optical sights and groups for training radio specialists. Some groups wear Afghan military uniforms		
74	**Bannu**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp	NLFA	
75	**Mianwali**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 500.. Instructors are Americans. There is a group for studying AA weapons		
76	**Razmak**	A centre for training saboteurs. Instructors are Pakistani commandos		
77	**Jandola**	A centre for training scouts and saboteurs		November 1980
78	**Wana** (20 km west)	A centre for general military training, for 120	NLFA, IPA	March 1980

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
79	**Manzai**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 800. Located on the territory of an army camp		
80	**Tank**	A centre for training in handling different types of weapons, for 60. Term of training up to 6 months	IRMA	
81	**Maddi**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp. Most of the trainees belong to the Manghal tribe	IPA	November 1981
82	**Chaman**	A centre for training specialists in the use of heavy weapons (mortars and grenade launchers), for 300. Instructors are Americans and Chinese. Located at a camp of Pakistani borderguards		
83	**Hedjimullu-Kalai** (4 km south-west of Chaman)	A centre for general military training, for 100		
84	**Chaman** (3 km west)	A centre for general military training, for 150		
85	**Raghani** (8 km south-west of Chaman)	A centre for training specialists in mining and demolition work and combat use of AA weapons, for 100. Instructors are Americans and Pakistanis. At the centre there is a headquarters which controls the shipment of weapons to the south-eastern part of the Kandahar Province (DRA) in caravans	NIFA, NLFA	

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
86	**Boghra-Karez** (10 km east of Chaman)	A centre for training specialists in combat use of AA weapons and in camouflage from air attacks. Term of training 3 months. Instructors are retired Pakistani officers. The rebels who have undergone training engage in delivering weapons to Afghan territory		May 1984
87	**Pishin**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp. There are courses for training commandos. Term of training 4 months	NIFA, NLFA	
88	**Quetta**	A centre for general military training at a refugee camp, for 500	NIFA, NLFA	
89	**Quetta**	A centre for general military training, for 300	IRMA	
90	**Sheikh Waseel**	A centre for general military training		
91	**Dadhar**	A centre for general military training		
92	**Nushki** (5 km west)	A centre for training at refugee camps, for up to 400. Training in acts of sabotage and terrorism, the use of chemical grenades and fire training	IRMA, NIFA, IPA, ISA	

No	Location	Brief description of the centre	Organization responsible	Date of setting up
93	**Chagai**	A centre for training at refugee camps, for 300	IRMA	
94	**Chagai** (10 km south)	A centre for general military training at refugee camps, for 200	IRMA	

Note

The following abbreviations of Afghan counter-revolutionary groupings are used in the table:

IP—the Islamic Party of Afghan Fighters for the Faith
IPA—the Islamic Party of Afghanistan
ISA—the Islamic Society of Afghanistan
NLFA—the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan
NIFA—the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan
IUMA—the Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan
IRMA—the Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan

Appendix II

Depots of Weapons, Ammunition and Foodstuffs of the Afghan Counter-Revolutionaries in Pakistan

Depots of Weapons and Ammunition

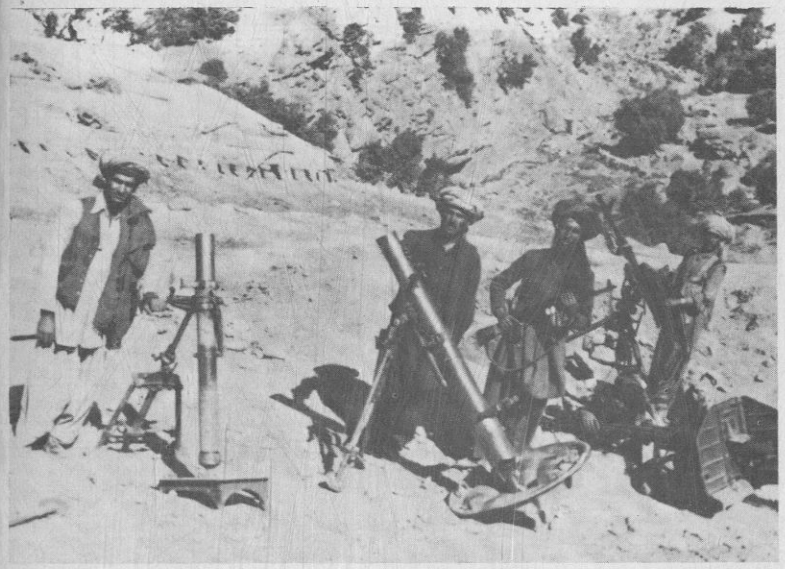
1	Tar	8	Kagamela
2	Koda-Khel	9	Moosah-Teega
3	Peshawar	10	Miram Shah
4	Parachinar (four)	11	Masha
5	Matanni	12	Wana
6	Sadda	13	Chaman
7	Hangu		

Food Depots

1	Chitral	12	Wana (four)
2	Drosh (four)	13	Tank (three)
3	Dir	14	Zhob (Fort Sandeman)
4	Mardan (two)	15	Chaman (two)
5	Peshawar (twelve)	16	Pishin
6	Bagh (two)	17	Quetta (three)
7	Parachinar (six)	18	Duki
8	Kohat (six)	19	Sheikh Waseel
9	Alizai (two)	20	Sibi
10	Bannu (three)	21	Nushki
11	Miram Shah (eight)	22	Dalbandin

At the military training centre in Miram Shah more than 700 counterrevolutionaries at any one time learn how to kill.

There are more than 90 training centres for counter-revolutionaries on Pakistani territory. For whom are these deadly weapons intended? Avoiding direct clashes with the armed forces, the bandits make cowardly attacks on the civilian population.

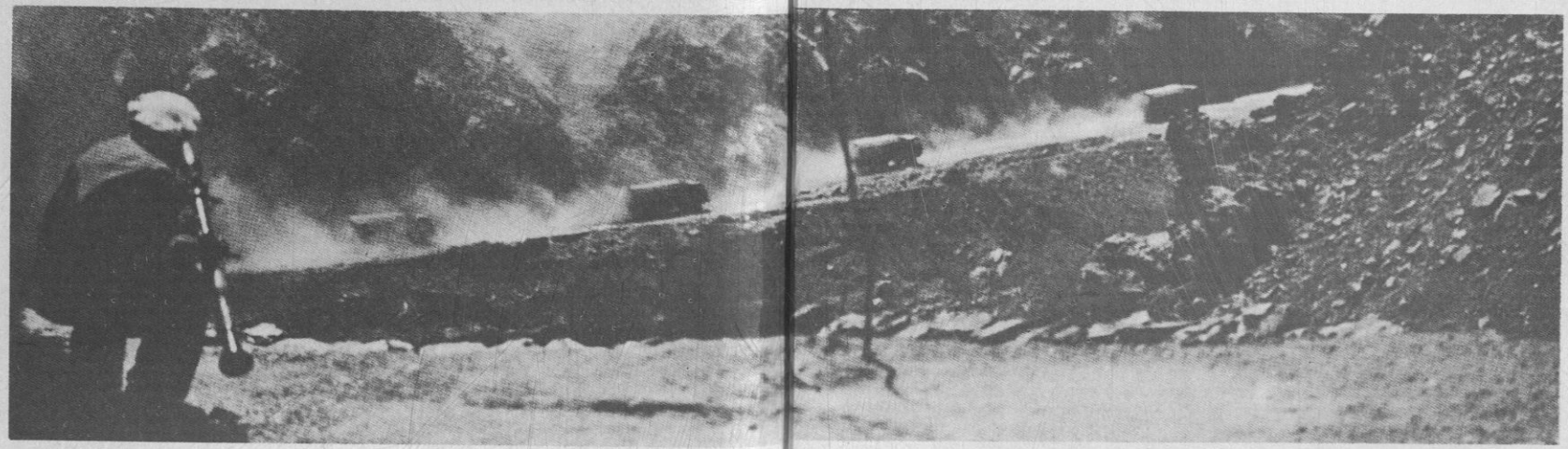


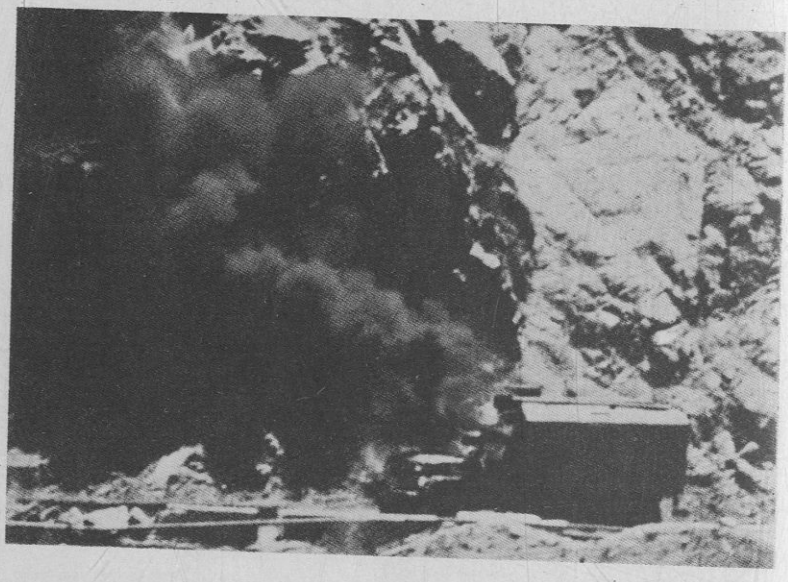
The Kasatak camp for counterrevolutionaries near the town of Drosh (above); the Garm Cheshma camp in the Chitral region (below).

Pakistan opens its doors wide to mercenaries from France, West Germany, Great Britain, the United States and other Western countries. These mercenaries have become highly experienced in the art of murder in various colonial adventures. Above: an American specialist holding a rifle. Below: a British instructor (first from the left).

A so-called fighter for the faith, a specialist in terror and murder, lays down a Chinese-made mine on one of Afghanistan's village roads.

Within a matter of seconds lorries will be blown up, there will be fresh victims and hundreds of innocent people will be deprived of food and necessities of life.





The results of another "achievement" by Mujaheddins.